l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

●101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circum-
[177] stances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may
[648] have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 612, Washington, 1907.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred.

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *tcunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *kitcunk*, "turtle," and *cuntcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin.

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it.

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food.

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 92.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The traditions speak only of Green Bay as their original habitat. On the other shore of Green Bay were the Menominee, who likewise have no recollection of having lived anywhere else. To the northeast, along Door Peninsula, were the Potawatomi, unquestionably intruders, who had come by way of Mackinaw. To the southwest lay the Sauk and Fox, the closely related Kickapoo, and the enigmatic Mascoutin. Finally,

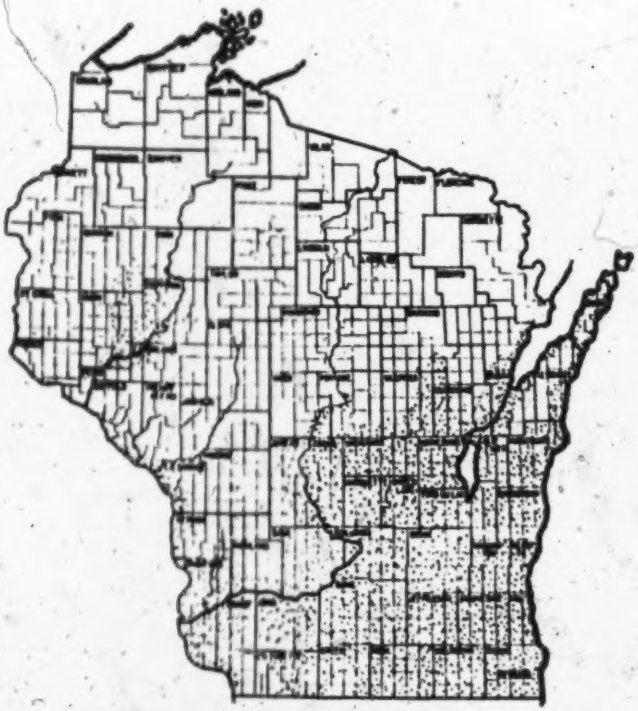

FIG. 2.—MAP OF WISCONSIN, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CIRCULAR MOUNDS.

to the south lay the Miami. Such seems to have been the distribution of the tribes around Green Bay and Lake Michigan at the first advent of the whites. Within 50 years of the landing of Nicollet the places were entirely shifted. Winnebago villages are found scattered all along the Fox River and Lake Winnebago, the Sauk and Fox and Kickapoo are on their way farther south, and the Potawatomi are in possession of the southern shore of Green Bay and the western shore of Lake Michigan. Later still we find the Winnebago extending all

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
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CULTURAL CHANGE AMONG THE WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO

Nancy Oestreich

Introduction

Cultural change is one of the outstanding factors in the life of the Winnebago today. It is important to mention at the outset, however, that the following article does not purport to trace the long history of cultural change among the Winnebago, nor does it have any claim as a complete analysis; but, because of space limitations, it will serve merely as a passing observation of cultural change in a particular Indian group. The study is based primarily on observation of one small group of Winnebago during a period of five weeks. None the less, these data seem to comprise a fairly, though far from completely representative sample with which to work.

The Indians observed were family groups from almost all of the Winnebago communities scattered throughout the central part of the state. Our group, consisting of some 45 families, was predominately one of Wisconsin Winnebago, but also included three Winnebago families from Nebraska and one family each of the Chippewa, Menomini and Potawatomi tribes. The presence of these minorities within the larger group of Wisconsin Winnebago offered an interesting study of inter-land and intra-tribal contrasts.

The Wisconsin Winnebago prefer to live more or less independently in their native territory, Wisconsin, rather than join their friends and relatives on the Winnebago reservation located, by a whim of the government, in Nebraska. There is, however, a constant exchange of visits between the two groups.

In Wisconsin many of the Winnebago earn a living in the winter by trapping for the fur market, and in the summer by following various Wisconsin crops. The harvesting begins in the spring with the strawberry season, and ends in the fall with the gathering of cranberries.